

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

NATIONAL ORGAN OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

Vol. 1

BELLEVILLE, ILL., SATURDAY, MARCH 18 1899.

NO. 37.

To Perpetuate Capitalism Would be to Decree Universal Mediocrity and Destroy Civilization.

New Jersey is said to have had a holiday March 6. Not a single trust was formed there during that day.

The good work goes merrily on at Amesbury and it looks more than ever as if these Socialists are a party to be reckoned with, as the old party papers say. Our vote at Amesbury has more than doubled since last fall.

If the workingmen of America expect to improve their condition they must rid their minds of the idea that their interests and those who own the modern tools of production are the same.

When Comrade Chase spoke before the Shoe Makers' club he told the members that before long they might have to face the want. Now dispatches from Boston tell us we are already on the way; a national boot and shoe trust is talked of and the prospects for its formation are excellent. "In trusts we trust!" Let the good work proceed.

It is reported that Mr. N. O. Nelson will join with forty-four other manufacturers in the formation of a plumbers' supply trust. Whereupon "Jonathan" writes to the St. Louis Post-Dispatch bewailing the fact that Mr. Nelson, the profit-sharer and friend of co-operation, should be in such company. It is probable, however, that Mr. Nelson understands better than "Jonathan" the trend of these days and has learned something from the experience of others who tried to resist the inevitable.

Some of the capitalistic papers in the East affect a supercilious indifference to the succession of political victories which are being scored by the Social Democratic Party, but the following from a Massachusetts paper no doubt expresses the real sentiment of the majority.

The Social Democrats have succeeded in electing one of their number a selectman of Amesbury, and are still unsatisfied. If the republicans of this district don't get together this fall they will not be given another opportunity so to do for many a day.

It's several good dollars to a can of republican army beef that we'll elect a state senator in that Exeter district at the first opportunity.

Comrade G. B. Benham, of San Francisco, has rendered a distinctly valuable service to a proper understanding of the Paris Commune by Socialists in America, in the publication of his history of that great uprising in 1871. It is a thorough, painstaking and, therefore, creditable piece of work, tracing the events leading up to the Commune and following its development during the three eventful months of March, April and May, with marked evenness and attention to those details which explain both the events and characters of the movement. The book is well indexed and contains in its 240 pages much new matter on a subject of world-wide interest. Price, cloth cover, 75 cents.

On the anniversary of the Paris Commune, March 18, 1871, it is well to recall the social and economic changes which the people engaged in the memorable struggle sought to bring about. An epitome of the Declaration of Principles of the Commune administration is as follows:

The Commune is the foundation of all political states, as the family is the embryo of human society.

It implies, as a political form, the republic, which is alone compatible with liberty and popular sovereignty.

The most complete liberty to speak, to write, to meet and to associate.

Respect for the individual and the inviolability of opinion.

The sovereignty of universal suffrage—forever its own master and constantly able to convoke and to manifest itself.

The electoral principle for every functionary and magistrate.

The responsibility of mandatories, and frequently their permanent revocability.

The suppression of the standing army, so dangerous to liberty, and so burdensome to social economy.

Suppression of subsidies to creeds, parties and the press.

Organization of a Communal assurance against all social risks, crises and

FORWARD IS THE WORD.

Comrades will rejoice to learn that among the new Branches reported this week is one which includes the aggressive and intelligent Public Ownership party of Erie, Pa. This organization has voted unanimously to join the Social Democratic party in a body.

At their recent election they polled nearly 1000 votes upon a platform clear-cut and forcible.

The Erie movement is composed of strong, active and aggressive comrades who understand the social problem and grasp the conditions which make it imperative for the Socialists of the world to unite.

The affiliation of Comrades Chas. Heydrik, Walter H. Miller, Geo. B. Laird (Editor of the People), E. S. Noyes, L. O. Harmon and their colleagues should encourage us throughout the country and at their next election they will bring the beacon light of Haverhill toward the Mississippi valley and drive a wedge into the capitalism of the slave-ridden state of Pennsylvania.

The terse commentary of Comrade Debs on his return from the East was "at the next election they will sweep Erie clean as a platter."

The Branch will be known as the Central Organization, and the intention of our Comrades is to organize in every ward and district in the city and county as fast as possible. They expect to have six ward Branches in the city before the end of March.

En avant! with greetings to Erie.

THE RECENT REFERENDUM.

Comrade Frederic Heath is in error in saying, as he does in the issue of THE HERALD of March 11th, that the Executive Board declared the recent referendum vote on the adoption of the constitution "off." The Executive Board had no power to do this, and did not do it. The Board merely determined, in view of certain developments which were unexpected, to call a conference for the purpose of consultation as to certain changes which have become absolutely necessary in order for the constitution to be workable. Such conference can be made useful also in other ways.

It is highly important that the constitution shall contain such provisions as will enable the comrades at all times to maintain the integrity of the party, and keep its Executive Board in accord with the party; and this should be done at the inception of the movement. The present Executive Board will do all in its power to bring this about.

JESSE COX.

Mud is ankle deep in New York City and hospitals are crowded.

The government receipts for the past six months amounted to \$245,961,893. It's a good bit, but it will not pay the bills, Mike.

The new Boston Railway station has a new system for switching, by which one man will switch 750 trains daily. It will also switch a few more men onto the cinder path.

The net earnings of the railroads in 1898 were \$372,000,000, and because the government pays exorbitant transportation charges for carrying the mails, the postoffice had its usual deficit. That's because the railroads run the government.

Referring to the town elections in Massachusetts last week, a Boston Dispatch says: "The surprising part of the results is the increased vote of the Social Democrats. Wherever they had a ticket the vote was an astonishment. The Socialists did not campaign with a hurrah, and when they captured the mayoralty and five seats in Haverhill last fall the whole State was shocked. This year the Haverhill people went over to Amesbury and helped the local branch, and the result was the election of Jason Spofford, Social Democrat, to the office of selectmen. All over New England the seed left by Eugene V. Debs, when he was here during the strike two years ago, seems to be getting in its work. The Socialists are cheerful and quiet, though the propaganda work goes right on. They figure that earnest work will capture more, and that votes enough can be cast in time to control all New England."

THE AMESBURY ELECTION.

The Socialist Vote More than Doubled Since the Fall Campaign.

S. D. P. Vote, Nov., 1898..... 218
" Mar., 1899..... 522

At the close of the campaign last November, the comrades said "we are not going to close up shop, but will keep right on making Socialists, and at the spring election, if we succeed in electing no one, will at least show an increased vote."

That promise has been more than redeemed. At the fall election, Comrade Winfield P. Porter, candidate for governor, received 218 votes. Last week, Comrade Jason Spofford, our candidate for the Board of Selectmen, polled 522, and was elected. Early in the morning of election day the Social Democrats claimed that their canvass gave them 448 votes, and the result shows that they made as good a canvass as the Haverhill comrades.

In the brief announcement of the result which we were able to publish in THE HERALD last week, it was stated that Comrade Chas. S. Wingate was elected as school committeeman. Mr. Wingate's election was announced by the election judges, but later it was discovered that the votes of the women had been omitted. The vote cast by the women of Amesbury was very small, only 63, but 55 of these were given to Comrade Wingate's lady opponent, and she was elected by a majority of 44, according to the full returns given below.

The Amesbury Daily News said: "The election was very hotly contested, a new element having entered it, the Socialists, who for the first time presented candidates for several of the offices. Judging from the result they are a party that have got to be reckoned with in the future. They have shown remarkable strength, more than doubling their votes of last fall. Their success in electing one selectman is a surprise to many, but not so to those who were familiar with the strength they were steadily acquiring. The careful canvass they have made was fully substantiated by the returns. Their candidates all received large votes, especially Chas. S. Wingate, who it was thought was elected as the election officers gave out his vote before the woman's vote was added. Dr. Adams for Board of Health also got a large vote and was close to Dr. Leslie."

TOWN CLERK.

N. E. Collins..... 938

SELECTMEN.

W. E. Carr..... 358

S. L. Collins..... 397

John Miller, Socialist..... 414

J. H. Maycock, Socialist..... 442

J. Augustus Davis..... 505

Jason Spofford, Socialist..... 522

George H. Swett..... 596

Elmer B. Sanborn..... 800

OVERSEERS OF THE POOR.

W. E. Carr..... 378

S. L. Collins..... 382

John Miller, Socialist..... 383

J. H. Maycock, Socialist..... 422

Jason Spofford, Socialist..... 482

J. August Davis..... 487

G. H. Swett..... 554

Elmer E. Sanborn..... 744

ASSESSOR TWO YEARS.

Daniel Webster..... 286

Jason Spofford, Socialist..... 398

Robert G. Patton..... 620

ASSESSOR, THREE YEARS.

John H. Blackstock, Socialist..... 472

James L. Tibbets..... 745

BOARD OF HEALTH.

Dr. C. S. Stanley..... 237

Dr. J. Q. Adams, Socialist..... 511

Dr. H. G. Leslie..... 554

TREASURER.

F. W. Merrill..... 569

Porter Sargent..... 749

COLLECTOR OF TAXES.

Samuel Eaton..... 1248

SCHOOL COMMITTEE.

C. S. Wingate, Socialist..... 636

Mrs. E. O. Perkins..... 680

How is this as an index to the growth of public sentiment in favor of Socialism in old Massachusetts? The candidate of the Social Democratic party for governor last fall received 34 votes at Whitman. Last week at the town election the average vote received by our candidates was 255, an increase of 650 per cent. in four months. Again we cry "Hurrah for International Socialism!" and a tiger for the comrades of Whitman!

THE ROSTRUM.

Unparalleled Popularity of the "Anarchist of '94"—Great Outpourings of the People to Hear Debs.

THE growing interest in meetings addressed by our speakers and the large attendance which greets them everywhere is the best proof of the development and progress of our party. The lectures of Comrade Debs continue to attract crowded and overflowing houses.

At Portsmouth, O., a magnificent audience filled the grand opera house. The Times and Blade published full reports. The former began by saying:

Hon. Eugene V. Debs delighted a large audience at the Grand Opera house last night. He held their close and undivided attention for two hours and more, and when he closed, there was not a person present who was not sorry, and the concluding words of the great labor champion were lost in a great outburst of enthusiastic approval.

In the grand opera house of Dayton, another great audience greeted the speaker and the most glowing accounts of the address were published in the daily press.

The Masonic Temple meeting at Indianapolis, Ind., scored another great success, and every allusion to Socialism was applauded with intense enthusiasm. The Sentinel said: "Last night an audience of trades unionists that filled Masonic Hall to the doors listened and applauded frequently as Eugene V. Debs addressed them on 'Labor and Liberty.'

The United Mine Workers' Journal, which is published at Indianapolis, had the following editorial:

"As announced in our last issue Eugene V. Debs favored the citizens of Indianapolis last Monday evening with his newest lecture, 'Labor and Liberty.'

"The crowd that greeted him at the Masonic Temple, Monday evening, was composed of all classes of people, from the man who traps ties on the section to the man who dwells in a palace and was driven to the hall in a coupe by a uniformed driver.

"Men were there who loved him, others who came merely out of curiosity, while others were there who despised him, because his talents (of which he has many) were being used to the detriment of their own selfish interests. It is not necessary that we should attempt to eulogize Mr. Debs, as he is too well known to the miners of this country. Suffice it to say that before he had talked but a very few minutes his entire audience was at his feet. No matter how much they object to his doctrine or how little they may have thought of the man before, for the time being at least he has them completely within his grasp. His genius is so great and he is endowed with so much eloquence that he plays at will upon the hearts of his hearers like a trained pianist touches the keys of the instrument. And as the one pours forth sweet strains of music that delights the ear and cheers the heart, so the other, by his genius of eloquence and the matchless word painting, gives us an inspiration for the higher and nobler things of life.

"For full two hours Mr. Debs held his audience and when he concluded the rich and poor, young and old, male and female, all rushed to the platform to grasp the hand of the mighty leader of the people. Riley was right when he said—

"An' there's 'Gene Debs—a man at stands
An' just holds out in his two hands
As warm a heart as ever beat
Betwixt here and the judgment seat."

At Linton, Ind., the opera house was filled to the doors. The Linton Call published more than two columns of a report which was exceedingly complimentary.

The lecture at Dayton was given under the auspices of the Central Trades Council, at Indianapolis, the Central Labor Union; and at Linton, the United Mine Workers.

Comrade Debs is pouring straight Socialism into the working class through their labor unions and no man is more in demand by these unions than he in every part of the country.

Following the Indianapolis lecture, the Terre Haute Tribune said editorially: "In 1894 the Indianapolis newspapers almost without exception relegated Eugene Debs to the limbo of discredited strike and labor leaders and said like Martin Irons he never again would be listened to by workingmen. Night before last the large Masonic hall in

ANARCHISM AND SOCIALISM

BY ISADORE LADOFF.

PART II.

LET us try to define what we Socialists mean by state or government. We mean by it nothing more nor less, than the direct administration of all public affairs by the people itself. The highest aim and purpose of government or, if you prefer, national administration, is the attainment of the highest possible ideal of ethics and the state has to be looked upon as the means of attainment of the highest possible happiness of mankind. The rights of individuals have to be sacrificed only as far and as long as it is absolutely necessary to the welfare of society at large. Coercion is not an essential function of the State. Attractive legislation is preferable to prohibitive and enlightened citizenship is possible without the use of force. Politics may be treated as a special science, which, in conjunction with political economy and jurisprudence, represents a part of the system of humanitarian sciences known as social science. The object of the science of politics is the State, the theory of statecraft and the description of the different forms of government in the past and present. The origin of the state was supposed by the scientists and thinkers of the past century to be a voluntary agreement between the citizens of a given locality, a "Social contract," as J. J. Rousseau styled it. It was supposed, that people lived originally in a so-called natural anarchistic state and then agreed to create the State. The anarchists still adhere to that myth, reminding us of the teaching of the church about the fall of man, but all scientists abandoned it for the historical point of view. Man is a gregarious being. On the lowest stages of civilization there are already noticeable some elements of authority, this essential attribute of the State. There was a time when the State tried to subject all the economical activity of the nation to the fiscal interests of the State treasury. Hence arose a violent opposition upon the part of a certain economical school. The opposition was well founded and led to the policy of non-interference of the State in economical affairs. The era of industrial anarchy called capitalism was the result. It went from bad to worse. The Socialistic State will resume the control of the economic industrial functions of society, but not in the interests of the fiscal, however. The purpose and aim of this control will be purely ethical, the protection of the human individuality from the fate of a mere accessory to tools of production, the preservation of the life, health and wellbeing of the toiling masses. It will not be the State of the past or present, but a new institution, corresponding to the needs and demands of a new social system. It will be the highest stage of human consecration attainable. Each citizen will have certain functions to perform and the duty of the State will consist in such a correlation of these functions, as to insure the most perfect effectiveness in their performance for the entire society. As the element of profit and exploitation, of competition and compulsion will be entirely eliminated—it will be the obvious interest of each and all to perform their respective social functions in the best way possible. Those who may feel the burdens of citizenship's obligations in the Socialistic state too hard will have the choice of leaving it. But the attractions and advantages of a Socialistic organization will undoubtedly be so great that cases of dissatisfaction with the whole system will be very few indeed.

Says G. V. Ratzentofer in his "Positive Philosophy of Social Life": "He who belongs to his social group only conditionally and unreliably becomes an egoist. But in so far as such reflections spring from the interest of the species, or finally from social interests, they guide the man to moral renunciation of self, whereby he receives impetus to coordinate or even subordinate his individual will to that of his community. This is an evolutionary phenomena, which points to the underlying principle of all creation. The production of unifying mutual relationship manifests itself in the face of the individualistic atomizing impetus as indispensable for the natural development of society. The degeneration caused through individualization lead partly to voluntary, partly to forced subordination of individuals in a social union, the more life incites individual interests, the more important is social constraint to limit the degenerating differentiation, in order not to endanger the species and its social structures through war of all against all."

Clearly there is nothing arbitrary in social life's phenomena. Every phenomenon of social life is subjected to the general laws of causation. The State is no exception from that rule. It is a product of evolution and is bound to evolve as humanity progresses on the road of rationalization and moralization of its social institutions.

The attitude of anarchists towards the State is obviously not only unscientific, but truly irrational. (This attitude is simply a survival of the phantastic conceptions of a Jean Jack Rousseau, about the blessing of a "natural state," which never and nowhere existed.) It is not a progressive, but rather retrograde attitude, an attempt to return to a state of things characteristic only of the lowest stages of animal life. The anarchists deny the State in the name of the freedom of the individual. But they take, in their short-sightedness, the means for an end.

Freedom is one only of the means of human happiness. But freedom alone cannot guarantee happiness to men. Rather the reverse of it is true. Even anarchists recognize that man is a social being. And social life is unthinkable without some limitations, voluntary or otherwise, of the freedom of the individuals composing it. The anarchistic theory is purely negative and, therefore, purely destructive. It works to destroy authority (how is it about the "authority of science?") in all its aspects, it demands the abrogation of all laws and the abolition of the mechanism that serves to impose them, it refuses all hierarchical organizations (!)

But when trying to build—they turn Socialists, they then "preach free agreement, establishment of such relations between men that the interests of each should be the interest of all." Of course the anarchists pretend to insist on FREE AGREEMENT not on free AGREEMENT, which last is Socialistic pure and simple. We are sure, however, that every impartial man will call it a distinction without a difference. Anarchists are against repressive measures as a means of maintaining a certain moral level and rely rather on moral teaching and the practice of mutual help. But so do the Socialists, likewise. Anarchists are very solicitous about the development of individual originality. But Socialism will be the best soil for development of originality of thought, of exquisite taste and inventive spirit. The satisfactions of the lower needs will not consume so much time and energy as at present, and there will be splendid opportunities to develop the higher faculties of mind.

Minorities are not less near and dear to the hearts of anarchists than individual freedom. They claim that the Socialistic state will of necessity be a rule of the majority over the minority. But how about the minority of those who may refuse to enter the FREE agreement? "Will they have to take to the woods?" As we see individual freedom, minorities and the State are a kind of fetishes of the anarchistic creed—so to speak. The State is the evil spirit and the other two—the good genii.

The evil spirit must be expelled, and the good genii carefully guarded. There is considerably more heat than light in that creed. We call this dogmatic view on state, individual freedom and minority right—a creed, because there is no valid proof behind it, because it is rather a product of emotion than reason.

How much deeper and broader is the Socialistic conception of the future of society! Socialism does not destroy anything, not even capitalism. Capitalism is bound to work out its own destruction. It lets the dead bury their dead and uses every available material in the present stage of society for the upbuilding of the future society. It has neither prejudices nor superstitions, neither fetishes nor pet genii, which it blindly worships. It does not mix up means with aims. It is strictly evolutionary and scientific in its philosophy, clear in its ideals and appeals with equal success to the intellect just as well as to the hearts of men. Anarchism is the reduction to absurdity of the individualism of H. Spencer, and the individualism of Spencer is half way anarchism.

There is no justification in the criticism of our present industrial anarchy upon the part of anarchists as such. We mean there is no logic, no consistency in it. Our present industrial anarchy, with its principle homo homini lupus is the result of the chaotic play of individual wills, that ought to gladden the heart of every true anarchist. And still all honest anarchists denounce it almost in the same terms as the Socialists. Why? Simply because there is a great deal of confusion of thought in their heads. What reason indeed have the anarchists to expect wonders from the chaotic play of individual wills in the future when they condemn its results in the present society? Is it not prouler to expect that wolves will enter into voluntary agreement with lambs to co-operate in "establishing of such relations between them, that the interests of each should be the interests of all?" Where is the foundation to this delightful optimism?

In all nature the species, the race is paramount, the individual plays only a secondary part. Nature is very much concerned about the preservation of the kind, but it cares very little about the preservation of the individual. Should humanity make an exception from that rule, that means, should the interests of the human aggregations be less important than that of a single unit?

Is not the term freedom itself misleading? Only those who do not believe in fixed relations between effects and causes (and their number is fortunately getting smaller every day) recognize a free will. But if there is no free will, what is left of individual freedom? Is not freedom but a mere negation of the opposite condition—unfreedom, dependence, slavery in some shape or form?

Once more we call the attention of the kind reader to the fact, that the exponents of anarchistic ideas, Bakounin, Kropotkin, and others were born and reared in countries whose government is below any criticism, where the State is the worst possible oppressor and exploiter of the people. Naturally enough, the justified negation of the State and government they were most acquainted with, turned into negation of the State and government in general. It is also natural that the preaching of the prophets of anarchism should have the best success in countries so badly governed as Spain and Italy. It is natural, but still a prejudice, the result of just indignation and noble emotions, but nevertheless irrational and illogical in its conception.

With the same sharp knife we cut our bread somebody may cut somebody else's throat, but would that be an argument against the use of knives in general? It is natural that bad government should breed anarchists, that means people who are superficial enough to be satisfied with the absolute negation of the use of a tool because it is misused under their very eyes. But negation of that kind cannot satisfy thoughtful people. Negation will only lead them to careful observation and

study, and observation and study is bound to lead them to Socialism. We believe we are justified in claiming that there is not one economist and sociologist of note in this country and abroad, who is not more or less Socialistic in his views. Even the old political parties begin to feel uneasy on account of the rapid spread of Socialistic ideas and emotions among the people and try to throw sand in their eyes by adopting pseudo-Socialistic planks and programs. Such was the State Socialism of Count Bismarck, such is the municipal ownership now in the United States. It is hypocrisy, of course. But hypocrisy is the tribute paid to virtue by vice, it is the involuntary recognition of a surely coming dreaded power.

It is not Socialism that prepares the field for anarchism, as some superficial observers believe.

Rather the reverse of it is true. It is anarchism that clears the ground for Socialism. Dissatisfaction leads to negation, negation to thought and study, and thought and study to the affirmation of Socialism. If it were not for the fear of what Mrs. Grundy will say, if it were not for the fundamental moral disease of our time—lack or total absence of the courage of one's convictions—there would be more professed Socialists in this, just as well as in all other civilized countries, than we dare to dream of.

In conclusion let us answer the question: What should be the attitude of the Socialists towards so-called philosophic anarchism? We think that this attitude should be friendly, courteous, but reserved and uncompromising. There is not the slightest doubt of the honesty and high-mindedness of such men as Peter Kropotkin or Elisee Reclus. As we have seen, they are practically Socialistic in their views. But still they are not only not Socialists, but enemies of Socialism—paradoxical as it may sound. Logically they are the natural allies of the capitalistic individualists; emotionally, however, in accord with Socialists. Poor fellows! They may well exclaim with Faust: "Zwei Herzen, ach, wohnen in meiner Brust!" Their ideals are of a past that never existed, of a paradise that could not be lost because it was never found, a real utopia, a nowhere, a nirgendsheim. The few grains of truth contained in the anarchistic philosophy are, as we have seen, not anarchistic, but rather Socialistic. And the rest is composed of sand of individualism, on which one can only build airy castles, peopled with phantoms of the imagination.

Having no positive ideas and ideals of its own—anarchism is bound to expire long before the Socialist state will be inaugurated. As soon as bad government—the only raison d'être of anarchism shall pass away, nothing will be left for it to feed upon. The present state and government is the Carthage of the anarchists and they are never tired of repeating the keynote of all their philosophy: "Ceterum censeo—carthaginem esse delendam!" But when the new Socialistic Carthage shall be built on the ruins of the old one, the anarchists will have to go out of business.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

The definitions of the two words "Social" and "Democratic" which follow, are taken from Webster's Dictionary:

SOCIAL—Pertaining to society or to the public as an aggregate body, as social interests, etc.

DEMOCRATIC—Pertaining to Democracy; i. e., Movement by the people * * * in which the supreme power is lodged in the hands of the people collectively, or in which the people exercise the power of legislation.

What Socialism Is.

Any theory or system of labor organization which would abolish entirely, or in great part, the individual effort and competition on which modern society rests, and substitute co-operation; would introduce a more perfect and equal distribution of the products of labor, and would make land and capital, as the instruments of production, the joint possession of the communists to careful observation and

MUSINGS OF A WAGE SLAVE.

(Written for THE HERALD.)

WHO reap the fruits of our labor? Who increase the burdens we bear? But the thoughtless rich who grasp the wealth?

They surely cannot care For those who sow in the garret, For those who delve in the mine, So long as they see the jewels flash And sip their costly wine.

Who own the lands and the houses? Who drives the fiery span? But the wealthy one who values A dollar far more than man? For little cares he, if a laborer fall, A victim of greed and strife, So long as the golden stream flows in To insure him an easy life.

Then down with the Godless system

That grinds with an iron heel; That fills the pocket of idleness, While it makes the workman reel. Competition for bread must disappear,

As the tide of right rolls on, And co-operation rule in its stead When the battle for life is won.

Yes, down with the Godless, Christless greed

That fills the garret and jail. Down with the system of darkness That starves and kills the frail, God's laws are just, but the laws of men

Have cursed the world around, Aiding the rich and robbing the poor,

While shame and crime abound.

Women forced to a death in life By a struggle fierce and long, That the rich may richer and richer grow,

While the weak are robbed by the strong. Shackle the wretch who takes the crust;

Scorn the woman who falls, While the wealthy thief, with his bonds and lands,

Lives honored in marble halls,

But the mighty tide is turning With surges deep and strong; The mole hills turn to mountains, The king of wrath leads on.

Go to! Ye rich marauders! Who reap where ye have not sown! The day of vengeance is at hand, When Justice claims her own.

Yea! Hark! I hear the tread of a host

With columns deep and wide, Nothing can stem their onward march,

Resistless as the tide, faintly see, through the gathering gloom,

A struggle fierce and strong; Pray God that it may not be of blood,

But of Mercy and Peace led on.

Yea! Mercy and Peace shall conquer Greed,

The lust for gold shall cease, And "Peace on Earth, good will to men",

Shall usher in true peace. Think not, while wage slaves toil and strain,

That faith and hope can grow, Such anxious toil can never bring The joy we seek below.

No more shall landed robbers hoard The rents of stolen soil.

No more shall earth behold a man Become the slave of toil.

No more shall the rich exploit the poor, On mountain, or land, or sea,

For the land of the true and the home of the brave Shall become the land of the free.

Poverty, vice, and crime shall flee, When comfort and hope are born;

Then eyes, grown dim with care erstwhile, Shall see the millennial dawn.

Peace and plenty and joy and love Shall abound from shore to shore,

When man, with a brother's love to man, Shall work for self no more.

Yea! poverty then shall threaten no more.

But woman and man be free, And the knowledge of God shall cover the earth,

As the waters cover the sea.

WINFIELD P. PORTER.

News from the Branches and notices for publication should be mailed to reach Belleville not later than Monday morning.

PIONEER SOCIALISTS OF THE WORLD

FERDINAND LASALLE.

FERDINAND LASALLE was born at Breslau, on the 11th of April, 1825. Both parents were of Jewish descent, his father being a wealthy tradesman. The family name was Lassal, but Ferdinand bore little love for his race, and he took the name of Lassalle when quite young. As a son, Ferdinand was extremely fond of his parents, particularly of his mother. When a child, he showed an impudent bearing, and Brandes, speaking of his youth, says: "There was something of a Caesar in his youth whom alarmed bourgeoisie were one day to regard as a Catilina. He was born for power, he bore the stamp of a ruler, and as he did not come into the world a prince or a nobleman, the child of the middle class and a disregarded race, he became a thinker, democrat, agitator and a Socialist, in order to attain in this way the element for which he was created."

Destined to follow a commercial career, he was sent to the Trades School at Leipsic; but his mother wished to make him a philologist, and then a professor, but his inclinations took a scientific direction. Leaving Leipsic, he went to Berlin University, thence to Breslau, studied philology and philosophy, and, after a brilliant career, he resolved to go to Paris in 1845. As a youth of 20, in that romantic city, he made the acquaintance of Heinrich Heine, who was then suffering bitterly from persecution, and an intimate friendship sprung up between them. The great Alexander von Humboldt and August Boeckh, the renowned philologist, called Lassalle at that time "Wunderkind," meaning a prodigy.

In 1846, Lassalle, while at work, made the acquaintance of the Countess of Hartzeffel; struck at the ill-treatment of the countess by her husband, Lassalle championed her cause, and for eight years fought the case in the Law Courts, and won for her her rights.

In 1848, a period so fertile with recollections, a revolutionary storm broke out in Paris, spreading to Germany. Just at that time Lassalle was associated with Marx, Engels and Wolff, and, believing that the opportunity had arrived for their cherished communistic design, they set to work. Lassalle being well-known by the working men of Düsseldorf, was charged with their organization, and did it with a zeal that caused him to be arrested by the government. On the dissolution of the National Assembly, in November, Lassalle addressed tremendous meetings, and at Düsseldorf he called the citizens of that city by placard to prepare for armed resistance, as the step taken by the National Assembly was unconstitutional. For this Lassalle was arrested and indicted for high treason, and, after a vigorous defense, was acquitted of the charge, but was kept in prison until he could be tried on a less serious charge of inciting to resistance against officials, and received six months' imprisonment. Humboldt wished to intercede with the king on his behalf—but Lassalle would not hear of such a thing, and when he knew that his sister had done what he refused to let Humboldt do, he wrote to the king to say that it was all a mistake—he desired no free pardon.

The first speech made by Lassalle, a youth of 23, in defense of his conduct at the Düsseldorf court, is a marvelous performance, and historically has no equal. His plea for acquittal was nothing short of a Socialist manifesto to Germany. Brow-beaten by the judge, harassed by the crown solicitor, he fought with a vigor unparalleled in the history of legal proceedings. That was Lassalle as he stood on the threshold of his career, and that was Lassalle when his work was completed.

In 1857 he commenced his great work "Heraclitus," in two volumes. From Düsseldorf three writs of indictment were issued against him. Meanwhile the Prussian Government forbade his entrance

Lassalle contended, was only lulling and deceiving the workers, and he suggested the only remedy to be the abolition of the wage system or wage slavery as the only cure, and to be able to accomplish this the parliamentary machine must be captured by the workers, and to that end he suggested—

That the workers must constitute themselves an independent political party, and make universal, equal direct suffrage their watchword—the representation of the working classes in the legislative bodies of Germany—that and that alone can satisfy their legitimate interest in a political sense. Let them acquire their rightful political power and they would soon be able to give effect to their will.

During the winter of 1863 Lassalle was engaged in an extensive series of disputes with the law courts, nearly every municipal body where he lectured had writs or indictments against him. All sorts of charges were laid against him, and at one time he had to answer 55 documents in the form of writs and charges. Twice he was arrested in the streets of Berlin on account of publishing Socialistic writing deemed to be treasonable.

In 1864, in consequence of publishing one of his addresses he was arrested again in Berlin and condemned to pay a fine and five years' police surveillance, and on another charge Lassalle made a famous speech which lasted for four hours. Amidst the scenes and tumult of the court the judge and the crown solicitor were amazed at his extraordinary oratorical powers. The proceedings were tempestuous, and fortune favored the brave Lassalle, and he was acquitted.

The next trial arose out of an address at Düsseldorf. After another vigorous defense he was condemned to a year's imprisonment. With this terrible persecution and mental worry Lassalle was physically broken down. At the next trial at Berlin he made a great Socialist speech, the judge objecting, telling Lassalle that he was not on a lecturing tour, but in a law court. Lassalle replied that he wished to teach the judge and Germany Socialism. High words were exchanged, but Lassalle talked over the judge and the crown prosecutor and they looked on the agitator with wonder and astonishment for daring them. Lassalle was never perplexed. If the prosecution advanced an argument against him he had immediately twenty ready wherewith to answer it. He baffled them with his genius.

The last speech Lassalle made was at Ronsdorf, and the last words of this Socialist agitator were:

"May this great and national movement of civilization (Socialism) not fail with my person, but may the conflagration which I have kindled spread farther and farther so long as one of you still breathes. Promise me that, and in token raise your right hands."

The scene was an impressive one as the grave tones of the orator's voice ceased, and the hands were raised in silence.

We will not prolong our biography, nor give a résumé of his teachings, it is sufficient to state that he died of a wound received on the 30 of August, 1864. He was interred in the cemetery at Breslau, and on his tomb is found the epitaph, written by the philologist Boeckh:

"Here rests what was mortal of Ferdinand Lassalle, the Thinker and the Fighter."

In conclusion, we who can look back to the stormy years of 1848 and '49 pay tribute to the indomitable courage of Lassalle in carrying Socialism in the market place and in the open forum at a time when it was reckoned vile to be a Socialist. Socialism to-day stands for economic freedom for the worker. Yes, Lassalle, the man who worked night and day like a galley-slave; Lassalle, who spent his fortune, his life for the cause of humanity. He has perished, and we know not how many struggles still lie before us; nor how many fighters like him will have to perish before our movement reaches its final goal, but the gravestones of our dead comrades tell us the progress of our movement, and fill us with the certainty of its triumph in the near future.

Social Democratic Party Platform

DEMANDS FOR FARMERS.

The Social Democratic Party of America declares that life, liberty and happiness for every man, woman and child are conditioned upon equal political and economic rights.

That private ownership of the means of production and distribution of wealth has caused society to split into two distinct classes with conflicting interests, the small possessing class of capitalists or exploiters of the labor force of others and the ever-increasing large dispossessed class of wage-workers, who are deprived of the socially-due share of their product.

That capitalism, the private ownership of the means of production, is responsible for the insecurity of subsistence, the poverty, misery and degradation of the ever-growing majority of our people.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

That the trade union movement and independent political action are the chief emancipating factors of the working class, the one representing its economic, the other its political wing, and that both must co-operate to abolish the capitalist system of production and distribution.

That the same economic forces which have produced and now intensify the capitalist system, will compel the adoption of Socialism, the collective ownership of the means of production for the common good and welfare, or result in the destruction of civilization.

Therefore, the Social Democratic Party of America declares its object to be the establishment of a system of co-operative production and distribution through the restoration to the people of all the means of production and distribution, to be administered by organized society in the interest of the whole people, and the complete emancipation of society from the domination of capitalism.

The wage-workers and all those in sympathy with their historical mission to realize a higher civilization should sever connection with all capitalist and reform parties and unite with the Social Democratic Party of America.

The control of political power by the Social Democratic Party will be tantamount to the abolition of capitalism and of all class rule.

The solidarity of labor connecting us with millions of class-conscious fellow-workers throughout the civilized world will lead to International Socialism, the brotherhood of man.

As steps in this direction, we make the following demands:

1. Revision of our antiquated Federal Constitution, in order to remove the obstacles to full and complete control of government by all the people, irrespective of sex.

2. The public ownership of all industries controlled by monopolies, trusts and combines.

3. The public ownership of all railroads, telegraph, telephone, all means of transportation, communication, water works, gas and electric plants, and other public utilities.

4. The public ownership of all gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, coal and all other mines; also of all oil and gas wells.

5. Reduction of the hours of labor in proportion to the increasing facilities of production.

6. The inauguration of a system of public works and improvements for the employment of a large number of the unemployed, the public credit to be utilized for that purpose.

7. All useful inventions to be free to all, the inventor to be remunerated by the public.

8. Labor legislation to be made national instead of local, and international where possible.

9. National insurance of working people against accidents, lack of employment and want in old age.

10. Equal civil and political rights for men and women, and the abolition of all laws discriminating against women.

11. The adoption of the Initiative and Referendum, and the right of recall of representatives by the voters.

12. Abolition of war as far as the United States are concerned, and the introduction of international arbitration instead.

"Resolved, That we condemn the attempt to disrupt the labor movement by organizing rival unions to the bona fide trades unions.

"Resolved, That we encourage the movement of organized labor for the establishment of a legal eight-hour workday and the Saturday half holiday.

"Resolved, That we condemn the modern white slavery of the sweating system."



FERDINAND LASALLE.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY AT BELLEVILLE, ILLINOIS,

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THE HERALD

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Cohen's Columbia Book Store, 925 Wash-
ington st.
J. C. Treaner, 1055 Washington st.
E. P. Lindsey, 1257 Washington st.
W. B. Smith, 1575 Washington st.

Announcements.

BROOKLYN.

F. G. R. Gordon, of Manchester, New Hampshire, will lecture on the "The Industrial Problem" at Erie hall, 435-7 Broadway, opposite Hewes st., on Saturday evening, March 18th at eight o'clock. Admission free. Visitors are invited.

NEW YORK.

F. G. R. Gordon of Manchester, New Hampshire, will speak on "The Industrial Problem" at No. 1 Broome st., New York City, on Sunday March, 19th at 2 o'clock; Visitors invited; Admission free.

TERRY HUT.

There will be an important meeting of the Terre Haute branch next Sunday afternoon, March 19, at Central Labor Union hall, which all members are urged to attend and invite their friends.

Greetings Across the Pacific.

Victorian Socialists' League,
46 Bourke st., Melbourne,
Australia, Feb. 1, 1899.

Comrade Theodore Debs,

National Secretary, S. D. P.

Dear Comrade:—At our usual weekly meeting it was unanimously resolved "that greetings and congratulations be sent to all our comrades of the Social Democratic Party of America for their recent successes in connection with the election to the state legislature."

I am instructed to convey to you the above resolution and I may add that the comrades of the Newer World wave their hands in way of greetings across the Pacific to the comrades of the New World, feeling that every gain towards capturing the legislative machinery is also our gain, our movement being essentially international, it has the solidarity that no other movement has. With kind love to all

Fraternally yours

A. C. CASIMIR,
Sec. Victorian Socialists' League.

Mark Hanna and his man have gone down to Thomasville, Ga., to rest.

* * * * *
Pierpont Morgan has effected a combination of nine companies with but a single thought—profits.

* * * * *
Listen for the squeal of the hotel men? Many of them are already feeling the pinch, owing to a great decrease of commercial drummers. Since the beginning of the trust movement, it is said, over 75,000 traveling agents have packed their grips for good.

* * * * *
With a complete disregard for the New York Journal and the "regenerated democracy," but in strict accordance with the scientific forecast of Socialists, the trusts go right on organizing, and now we have the giant of them all, the pool of the coal interests, with a capital of \$889,000,000, a deal that will effect a saving to the mine owners in operating expenses of \$3,200,000 yearly. The combine is another triumph for that distinguished propagandist, "Comrade" Pierpont Morgan.

GET SUBSCRIBERS FOR THE HERALD.

THE FARMERS' PROGRAM.

By F. G. R. GORDON.

A GREAT deal of criticism is being made of our "Farmers' Program" by both friends and foes.

That a farmers' program must be included in the platform of a real Socialist party is already recognized by nearly every Socialist party of the world. The next political battle of the great Social Democratic Party of Germany will contain one.

So large a proportion of the world's population and wealth producers being farmers, makes a farmer's program absolutely necessary.

The criticism generally made is that the S. D. P. "Farmers' Program" is middle class politics and that our party is inconsistent, inasmuch as we preach the "class struggle" to the proletariat and the "middle class" struggle to the farmers.

We do nothing of the sort. First, we state as plain as the English language can express it, that the S. D. P. wants the democratic ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution.

Then, like all Socialist parties, with a view to improve the conditions of labor, we make certain demands.

To illustrate, we demand the collective ownership of coal mines.

It does not follow that we will mine coal under ideal Socialism.

Electricity or something better will be used to

perform all that coal does at present,

and the power to generate electricity will come from the natural water power in our streams and tides,

and from the sun, thus doing away with coal mining entirely.

Because of that, should we take that plank away from our platform? Of course not.

The number of farms in the United States at the present time is 5,000,000 (estimated as per the census reports.)

And over 9,000,000 farmers, planters, and wage

farm laborers are employed and exist upon these 5,000,000 farms.

If you should ask the average

farmer in this nation: "Which is

the better off, the farm laborer or the farmer?" it is safe to say that eighty per cent of them would unhesitatingly reply the farm laborers.

So far as a living goes the tenant

farmer, the home owning farmer

and the mortgaged cursed farmer,

are about all the same.

The exception being the bonanza farmers,

the value of whose farms are above

\$4,000, and it is pretty safe to say

that these do not number 100,000

free from debt. That the tenant

farmers are increasing everybody

admits. From 1880 to 1890 tenant

farmers increased in the six New

England states 7,246, and the own-

ing farmers decreased 24,117.

In the nation during the ten years 1880

to 1890 tenant farmers increased

599,337 and owning farmers 158,

951. At present over 35 per cent of

our farms are cultivated by tenants.

It is all very nice for men who

never did a day's work on any farm

to sit in the editorial sanctum, and

tell all about the farmers and their

condition, but experience is much

better knowledge. The writer of

this has worked at day wages upon

the plains of Iowa, with tenant

farmers and with house owning

farmers, and also upon the hilly

farms of New England, he has lived

with them and knows them, and

thus has the advantage of a personal

knowledge.

I say this: "Ninety farms out of

one hundred in the nation are for sale." What I mean by that is simply this, that any one can buy 90 per cent of the farms in this nation by paying, in cash, 75 per cent of their value. This proves beyond all question of doubt that the farmers are dissatisfied, that they want a change, that they will vote for a change just so soon that a real change is presented to them in a clear and intelligent manner. The farmers of this nation are just as ripe for ideal democratic Socialism as the workers in the city, yes, more ripe, because they are better thinkers and better philosophers and have an average of more intelligence than their city brothers. Improving their condition will not make them less dissatisfied with the conditions of the labor world or nation. On the contrary, it will make them more ripe for Socialism. Man is naturally a social animal. He does not like isolation, hence the success—in numbers—of the farmers' organization. The farmer, like all the rest of us, likes the enjoyment of collective association and pleasure which only come with that. He will gladly vote for the "good time a-coming" just so soon as he knows what it is. The real reason he knows so little about it to-day is because we have never made any real propaganda in the agricultural districts.

PURELY SOLD BLOODED SCIENCE NEVER WON A POLITICAL BATTLE ANYWHERE.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin," did more to free 4,000,000 slaves than any single agency. The business element and the church were both very conservative upon the great question of slavery. But when the great sympathetic heart of the north was aroused, slavery had to go. I believe with Eugene Debs that we must unite the heart and brain to be successful.

The great leaders of Socialism all over the world are generally men who have been won to this cause by a union of sympathy and science.

Let us carefully examine our "Farmers' Program." "No more public land to be sold," means the nationalization of all the present public lands, thus giving to the nation or state control of vast areas of land to be used for the public benefit for all time. It can't possibly do any harm to lease state lands to farmers at a minimum rent, as is now done in New Zealand with great success. This certainly is a step in the improvement of labor. To put the forests and water-ways under the direct control of the nation is certainly a Socialist step.

Second. If a Socialist party were in power in any nation, one of the first things they would do would be the construction of grain elevators, etc., to be used by the farmers at cost. That harms no one, and would put an end to the cursed elevator trust, a trust that extends from the Rocky Mountains to the Atlantic.

Third. Giving to the farmers a Socialistic postal, railroad, telegraph and telephone service, is not only right from every standpoint, but is practical Socialism thus far.

Fourth. The establishment of a postal rate for the transportation of agricultural products on all railroads is clearly Socialistic, so much so, that no Social Democratic party anywhere will criticize it.

Fifth. The use of public credit for counties and towns for the improvement of roads, soil, irrigation, drainage, etc., is certainly one of the best planks a Socialistic platform can have. It means first, giving employment to the unemployed, it means good roads, it means an increase in the value of the nation's land, and, it does not mean the perpetuation of a middle class.

Our farmers like short hours, they like large incomes, they like luxuries, the theater, the lecture hall, travel and its enjoyments of that life which Socialism alone can give them, and this they will organize and vote for just so soon as we interest them in our program.

It ought to be clear to any Socialist that we can not socialize the land in a day, within five years a dozen, and quite likely a single corporation will run all the railroads in the nation. The same may be said of leather, woolen goods, shoes, flour, lumber, coal,

silver, gold, iron, hats, etc., etc. But does anyone think this will be true of the land? Of course not.

The enactment of our farmers demands would put an end to the Chicago wheat pit and all such gambling parasites, it would put an end to the wheat trust, the beef trust, and the transportation trust; it would be an improvement in the condition of both country and city labor, and a direct step in the direction of practical Socialism. It won't do for a practical party to call the farmers as a class "middle class parasites," "hayseed capitalists," and such like insulting and untruthful names. It's not only unwise but dishonest. The farmers as a class work as hard and have as little as any class. There is a way to win them to the cause of Socialism and the Social Democratic party is the first and only party in America which has shown the way. Our farmers' program may be slightly changed at our next National Convention, but the present program is very near perfect and an absolute necessity from every standpoint of justice and wise tactics.

Liberty but a Name.

In an address before the Chicago Political Equality League Prof. George D. Herron said:

"Every relation of dependence between man and man, or man and woman, political, economic and religious, and even that of marriage, is doomed. There can be no political equality so long as the marriage system regards woman as the private property of man.

"Only in an economic system in which all the resources on which the people depend are owned and distributed by the people so all stand in equal relation, will there be political equality, will there be anything like a true comradeship between men and women.

"There can be no true comradeship where one stands in the relation of a dependent and the other as a provider. Suppose you suffragists had the ballot. You are each of you dependent on a man, economically, religiously, and intellectually. Your political equality would be but a tantalization. If the resources of the world to-day are owned by the men then the men own the women. There can be no such thing as political equality without economic equality.

"By the present marriage system, which undoubtedly has to be regenerated, the woman is practically the property of the man. Practically before the law, and in accordance with good morals, the woman becomes the property of the man. Of course, there are objections to this. The kindergartens say that the child is the property of the race.

"If you would have political freedom you must apply the ax at the foot of the tree of economic inequality. You would be much surprised if you had the ballot, if that were all you should obtain. All wage-earners have that, and what does it avail them? Political equality is but a mere name to-day. What good does the ballot do the men working on the elevated road? What good does it do the laborers in the stock yards? The rich that own the resources of the world own the poor. Liberty, even in America, under present conditions is but a name."

Resembled the Lithographs.

The Eugene V. Debs reception committee were at the N. & W. depot this morning to meet the gentleman, neither of them knowing him personally. They were on the lookout for a man who resembled the lithographs, and they found him. A gentleman stepped off the train. The chairman of the committee says "that is Debs." They saluted and greeted him as Mr. Debs. The gentleman smiled pleasantly, gave each member of the committee a hearty handshake, and remarked to them that he was not Eugene V. Debs, only a common traveling man.—Portsmouth (Ohio) Times.

Branch No. 9, Milwaukee, gained total of 22 members in two meetings; two meetings ago 8, last meeting 14. Will try to keep up that rate. ALBERT F. FORMAN, Organizer.

OUR NEW YORK LETTER.

Comrade Leonord D. Abbott was ill and could not lecture for the West Side branch at Crystal hall, 352 W. 35th st., last Sunday, but Comrade Albert Vogl took his place and delivered an especially fine lecture on "Orthodox Remedies for Present Conditions." Quite a number of questions were asked, which Comrade Vogl answered ably. On March 12th Comrade I. A. Houriwich will lecture on "Overproduction and Underconsumption," and on March 19th Comrade Abraham Cahan will lecture on "The Idealization of the Workingman." Three new members were added to the branch last Sunday. Visitors are welcome to these meetings. Admission free.

A branch of the S. D. P. was organized in the 35th Assembly District last Monday night, at Albing's hall, 3465 3d ave. Next Monday the branch will meet again and Comrades Ingemann, Phillips and Modest will speak.

Across the river in Jersey City Comrade Carl Pankopf has been busy and last Saturday night a branch was organized as a result of his efforts. The next meeting will be held on Saturday night, March 18th, at Kerner's hall, corner Fifth st. and Summit ave. Those wishing to join should attend. Preparations are on foot to get a good supply of literature and carry on a good agitation for the S. D. P. in Hudson County. Comrade Pankopf is secretary of this branch and his address is 94 Columbia ave, Jersey City.

The S. D. P. will celebrate the Anniversary of the Commune by holding a festival in Progress Assembly rooms, Ave A, between 2nd and 3d sts., on Friday night, March 17th. Comrade F. G. R. of Manchester, New Hampshire, will be present and speak, and Comrades L. E. Miller, S. Ingemann, J. Dolinsky, Joseph Baroness and others are down for speeches. The speeches will be interspersed with music and singing. Admission will be ten cents and proceeds will go to the City Central Agitation Committee.

Comrade Dr. Peskin lectured for the East Side branch at 209 E. Broadway last Friday night on "The Labor Movement in New York." To-morrow night Comrade E. H. Thomas lectures at the same place.

Comrade Albert Vogl lectured on "Poverty" at Colonial hall, 101st and Columbus Ave., last Thursday night and to-night Comrade M. London will lecture at the same place on "Labor's Rights and Wrongs." Lectures will be given at this hall on the next two Thursday nights by the Social Democratic Party and visitors are

AMONG THE BRANCHES

Branch Meetings.

Notices of Branch Meetings inserted for 50¢ per month.

Colorado Branch No. 1 of the Social Democratic Party, meets every Sunday eve at Woodman's Hall, 1715 California street, Denver, Colo., 8 p. m. Thos. H. Gibbs, Chairman; Mrs. Martin Steele, Secretary.

Branch No. 3 (Conn.) meets every 3rd Sunday in the month, at St. George's Hall, 68 Chapel street, cor. Church street, at 3 p. m. New Haven, Secretary, Cornelius Mahoney, 163 Franklin street.

Branch No. 1 of Illinois, Chicago, meets every Wednesday evening. Thos. Kirwin, Secretary.

Branch No. 6, Indiana, meets first Saturday evening and 3rd Sunday afternoon at 7 p. m. at Reichwein's Hall, corner Market and Noble streets, Indianapolis. J. J. born, Secretary.

Branch No. 9, (Mass.) Brockton, meets Sunday at 7 P. M. in Cutters Hall, Clark's Block, cor. of Main and Centre streets. Every member is expected to attend at least one meeting a month. Frank S. Walsh, 332 West Elm street, Secretary.

Branch No. 15, Massachusetts—East Boston—meets every Monday at 8 p. m. at 39 Chelsea st. A. L. Sweeney, 161 Webster st., Sec.

Branch No. 2, Holyoke, Mass., meets second and fourth Mondays of each month at Springdale Turner Hall, Organizer, Louis Scher, 121 High street.

The Massachusetts State Committee meets the first Saturday of each month at 7:30 p. m., at 1043 Washington street, Boston. All communications and moneys intended for the Massachusetts State Committee should be sent to the secretary, Margaret Hale, 5 Glenwood st., Roxbury.

Missouri State Central Committee meets every Thursday at 8 p. m. at Room 7, International Bank Building, 26 and 22 N. Fourth street, St. Louis. Organizer Anna F. Smith, 301 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis City Central Committee meets every Thursday, at 8 p. m., at Room 7, 22 N. Fourth street, Secretary, Albert E. Anderson, 4225 N. Newstead avenue.

St. Louis Third Ward Branch (1st Mo.) meets every Friday, at 8 p. m., at 1223 N. Broadway. Organizer, A. F. Haussler, 122 N. Broadway.

St. Louis Twelfth Ward Branch (2nd Mo.) every 1st Sunday at 2 p. m., and every 3rd Sunday at 9:30 a. m., at Bohemian National Hall, cor. Allen avenue and Dolman street. Organizer, A. Langhrib, 210 Lynch street.

St. Louis Ninth Ward Branch (3d Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Concordia Turner Hall, 13th and Arsenal streets. Organizer, Charles F. Meier, 3001 Indiana avenue.

St. Louis Tenth Ward Branch (4th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Sunday at 2:30 p. m. at V. H. Hall, Broadway and Keokuk streets. Organizer, Francis J. Krause, 321 Michigan Avenue.

St. Louis First Ward Branch (5th Mo.) meets every Wednesday, at 8 p. m., at 49 N. Broadway. Organizer, Julius Blumenreich, 87 Cowan street.

St. Louis Second Ward Branch (6th Mo.) meets every 2d and 4th Tuesday, at 8 p. m., at Social Turner Hall, corner 13th and Monroe streets. Organizer, H. J. Stelzerwald, 112 Chamber street.

Branch No. 7, Missouri, meets every Tuesday at 8 p. m. at 1300 Union ave., Kansas City. G. J. Storz, 1330 W. 9th street, Sec.

St. Louis Twenty-sixth Ward Branch (8th Mo.) meets every Saturday at 8 p. m., at 305 St. Ferdinand avenue. Organizer, Joseph C. Hartshorn, 3560 St. Ferdinand ave., Indiana avenue.

East Side Branch, No. 1, New York, meets 2nd and 4th Thursday of each month at 201 E. Broadway. A. Guyer, 23 Clinton street, Secretary.

Branch No. 2, New York, meets at William Morris Forward Club Rooms, 107 Forsyth st. Business meetings second and fourth Tuesdays. Discussion meetings first and third Tuesdays of each month. New York City. Secretary, Louis Palevsky, 537 East 12th st.

Branch No. 10 (4th Ass. Dist.) New York, meets every second and fourth Friday of each month, at the Club Rooms of the "Voice of Labor," 107 Henry street. Nicholas Rosenauer, secretary, 331 Madison st.

Branch No. 3, New York (21st Assembly District) meets every 2d and 4th Monday of the month at 334 E. 64th st. L. Funcke, 233 E. 65th st., Sec.

Branch 12, Brooklyn, N. Y. Headquarters Social Democratic Party, 232 Hewes street, meets 1st and 3d Thursday's at 8:30 a. m. sharp. All persons interested in socialism and the Social Democratic Party are invited to attend these meetings and co-operate with us in organizing local branches in every district in the city. Wm. Butcher, 222 Hewes st., Secretary.

Branch No. 20, New York, (28 Assembly District) meets 1st and 3d Thursday's of each month at Fruhliger's Hall, 1551 Second Avenue, New York City. Secretary R. Hoppe, 328 E. 80th street.

Branch No. 2, Ohio, Cleveland, meets in Olshan's Hall, 65 York streets, second and fourth Sundays, at 8 p. m. Lectures, discussions, business meeting, first and third Fridays at 8 p. m.

Branch 1, Philadelphia, meets every Saturday, 8 p. m., City Hall, North Plaza.

Branch No. 5 (Jewish) of Pennsylvania meets every Sunday at 754 south Third street, Philadelphia, at 7:30. Discussion from 8 to 9. J. Gearson, Secretary.

Branch No. 4, Pittsburgh, Pa., meets every Thursday evening at 7:30 p. m., Funkhauer Hall, 21st and Josephine sts. President W. Bohn, 244 Addison st. Secretary, J. H. Lewis, 2318 Jane st.

Branch No. 1, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Thursday evening of the month, at the Ethical Society Building, 38 Jefferson st. Visitors always welcome. Howard Tuttle, chairman, Eugene H. Rooney, secretary.

Branch No. 2, Milwaukee, meets every second and fourth Saturday, in Geatke's Hall, corner Green Bay and Concordia ave.

Branch No. 4, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Friday each month at Mueller's Hall, corner Twenty-third and Brown streets. George Moerschel, Secretary, 778 Twenty-fifth street.

Branch 12, Milwaukee, meets every first and third Thursday of the month at Volkman's Hall, corner Twenty-first and Central streets at 8 p. m. Edward Kepfer, Secretary.

Milwaukee Central Committee of the Social Democratic Party of America meets first and third Monday at 8 p. m. sharp at 64 State street. Eugene H. Rooney, Secretary, John Doerfer, Treasurer.

The comrades in Greater New York and vicinity are especially active. On Saturday, March 4, a new branch was organized at Jersey City as a result of Comrade Carl Pankopf's efforts.

PROPAGANDA FUND.

Contributions to propaganda fund started by Eugene V. Debs:

Axel Mollin	\$ 10
J. F. Barron	10
F. G.	25
H. M.	10
M. Fox	10
F. Schwartz	10
S. Borovitch	25
M. Ostrum	10
I. Pichovsky	10
T. Karotkin	10
M. Gilles	25
J. M.	10
Loosman	10
Shein	25
Kleinberg	10
S. H.	10
H. Newman	10
B. Bichovsky	10
I. Gerson	10
M. Blisse	25
W. E. Rice	10
Ed. Jones	100
A. H. Philbrick	100
St. Louis, Mo. (no name)	10
Thos. Emery	10
Everb N. Gordon	10
Mrs. E. S. Redfield	10
Jas. P. Wilcoxen	10
St. Louis, Mo. (no name)	10
Walter E. Young	10
Louis Antovil	25
Louis Hinde, Ind. (no name)	10
Previously reported.	65
Total.	70

Total.....\$73 65

Notice to Branches.

The quarterly dues for the quarter ending June 30 are due at the Headquarters, 126 Washington st., Chicago, Ill., on or before April 5. Prompt remittance is of the highest importance to insure the interests of the organization, and the branches are urged to provide for the collection, which should be begun at once.

New Branches Organized.

Since our last report new branches have been organized at the following places:

Plattsmouth, Nebraska.
Indianapolis, Indiana.
Jersey City, New Jersey.
Topeka, Kansas.
New York (35th Ass. Dist.)
Watertown, New York.
Erie, Pennsylvania.

The HERALD and Appeal to Reason, clubbed, for 70 cents a year.

* * *

Comrade John C. Chase speaks at Fitchburg, Mass., March 22 in G. A. R. hall.

* * *

Branch 6, Milwaukee, at its meeting on Thursday evening, March 2nd, will discuss the question "Is the referendum desirable? Comrades, bring your friends.

* * *

The Executive Board has adopted a form of application and also a membership card. The forms and the price for which they will be furnished to Branches will appear in the next issue of THE HERALD.

* * *

E. S. Noyes, of Erie, Pa., who with his associates joins the S. D. P., is a manufacturer and as the candidate of the Public Ownership party of that city for assessor in the recent municipal election, polled 1200 votes, running ahead of his ticket.

* * *

The Brockton Branch elected officers on the 7th inst. as follows: Chairman, S. Franklin Packard; vice-chairman, Carlton S. Beals; recording secretary, Frank S. Walsh; financial secretary, Mrs. Annie Bosworth; treasurer, W. P. Bosworth; organizer, Isaac Skinner; executive board, Charles H. Coulter, Carlton S. Beals, S. Franklin Packard, Isaac W. Skinner and W. P. Skinner.

* * *

The Brockton Enterprise has this item: "The Social Democrats have elected a woman to office in their organization in this city. Does this mean that the new political organization believes in equal suffrage and will work to give the women a chance to vote? It is the first political party to elect a woman to an office in this city." The lady is Mrs. Annie Bosworth, she was chosen for financial secretary.

SOCIALIST MAYOR TAKES THE FLOOR.

Haverhill's Grade Crossings.

WHO would have been bold enough to prophesy on that sweltering Sunday afternoon last August when our joint campaign committee met and decided to go into the State campaign in the fall that as a result of it capitalists would be forced, half a year later, to call upon the legislature of Massachusetts to intervene in their behalf to nullify Socialist legislation in one of our cities? And yet this is just what has happened. The abolition of grade crossings in Haverhill, while not in itself a Socialist measure, is championed by the Socialists in office there and is assuming such proportions that it will undoubtedly prove an important factor in deciding their political fate next fall. A brief statement of the case will therefore be of interest to the comrades, no doubt.

The Boston & Maine railroad's tracks cross three of the principal thoroughfares of Haverhill at grade, and are a great inconvenience and hindrance, as well as a constant menace to life. The people of Haverhill want the grade crossings abolished, and have been trying to have it done for the last nine years. One Mayor and several batches of aldermen have been elected on that issue; but somehow, as soon as they got into office they forgot all about it, or for some other reason they never got beyond the preliminary steps. The Social Democrats last fall incorporated it in their platform, as an important local issue, and when they got into office they immediately took steps towards its accomplishment. The raising of the grade would cost the railroad company some \$350,000 and would depreciate the value of the property of a few of the abutters; so there was opposition to the order from the moment it was introduced by Alderman Bean, the four republicans being against it. First it was laid on the table for two weeks; and to prevent its lying there indefinitely, our people, when it came up again, obtained a public hearing on it. The citizens favoring it promptly turned out en masse and packed city hall at the public hearing, and presented a petition signed by over two thousand, while the opposition's protest was signed by only three hundred. Thereupon the opposition secured a second public hearing, and had their side presented by one of the ablest lawyers in that part of the country, a district attorney, who made out a good case for his clients out of very poor material, as lawyers know how. He worked in some distorted figures showing the fearful load of debt that Brockton's similar undertaking had laid upon that city, and generally made things look pretty black for the abolition side. The citizens looked grave and began to hesitate, as they listened to the eloquent lawyer; and the hearts of our comrades sank when they perceived the impression made, particularly upon two republican aldermen who had previously been leaning our way, but were now nodding acquiescence with the opposition. The cause was lost, unless something should happen.

But something did happen. The mayor rose to the occasion. He had been to Brockton himself and investigated the situation, and knew the truth about the facts and figures so cleverly distorted by the opposition. He called the president of the board of Aldermen to the chair, and took the floor as a private citizen in support of the order. In his characteristically clear, direct and forcible way in a very few minutes he had shown up the crookedness of his opponent's argument, proved the real facts of the case, swung back the two wavering republicans, and, before the audience had quite recovered from its surprise at the unusual proceeding, was back in the chair as mayor of the city, the motion was put, and carried by 5 to 2, and the day was won. It was one of those instances where doing the right thing at the right moment, though it be not in itself a great thing, wins the victory.

Of course I can't tell you yet what will be the fate of this petition, though there is little room for doubt that the committee knew from the first how it was going to decide. However, when it comes up in the House Comrade Carey will have a chance to get in some of his fine work on it. If, in spite of everything, the legislature grants the petition, the matter will most certainly be voted upon at the next municipal election, as the procuring of the 1000 votes to demand it will be the simplest thing in the

The comrades were jubilant; and the people of Haverhill who had been vainly trying to attain just this result for nine years, conceived a new respect for the Socialist mayor who had the courage of his convictions and the ability to back them up with prompt and judicious action.

But he who enters the lists against a railroad corporation must look well to his armor and his weapons. The mayor and aldermen had proceeded in pursuance of an act of the legislature passed in 1890, explicitly empowering cities to obtain from the superior court the appointment of a commission to superintend the abolition of grade crossings whenever the convenience and security of the people required it. Within a week after the passing of the order, however, a petition was presented to the legislature of Massachusetts, by the opposition, "to except the city of Haverhill, so that the general law passed in 1890 shall not for the period of four years apply to the abolition of grade crossings in the city of Haverhill, and any action heretofore taken shall be void till the expiration of that time, unless a thousand voters petition the mayor and aldermen to submit the question at the next municipal election of the city of Haverhill, and if the voters shall so vote, the next government of mayor and aldermen may 'go ahead and do what our boys have just accomplished.' Have you digested that? And do you see the point, in spite of the legal verbiage? A railroad corporation invokes the power of the state legislature to prevent a city from doing what its citizens have almost unanimously decided to do! And the main reason given for this unparalleled piece of effrontery was that the abolition of the grade crossings was sought by a city government elected at 'a freak election!' And so, the fight is on!

Of course Mayor Chase appeared before the committee on railroads who heard the petition of the railroad company, and who acted more like counsel for the petitioners than a judicial tribunal, trying their level best to get him twisted and to commit himself on the referendum side of the petition. But his honor doesn't easily get rattled nor lose his presence of mind, as the committee found out. Take a young man of 28 out of a shoe shop, or a little grocery store, and put him under fire from a dozen old line, smooth-tongued, experienced politicians, all anxious to trip him up, and if he not only holds his own, but gives them back some telling blows straight from the shoulder, as our mayor did, don't you agree with me that he is made of pretty good material? At any rate, Comrade Chase made a strong, manly and spirited protest on behalf of his city against this attempt to place it under guardianship, by special legislation asked for by 25 people in opposition to the express desire of two-thirds of the citizens. "We are following the policy which you yourselves have laid down for us," he said. "Why grant special legislation? Why not repeal the act of 1890 at once? If it isn't good enough for Haverhill it isn't good enough for other cities." "Yes, I do believe in the referendum," he replied to their question, "but not when it is asked for by 25 people, against the wishes of all the rest of the citizens." One of the committee made a remark about "playing politics," to which Comrade Chase replied: "If I were playing politics I should get down on my knees and pray that you might pass this legislation; because if you do, it will pack city hall in Haverhill full of Socialists, and every seat in this body that Haverhill has to fill, besides."

First. That eight hours shall constitute a day's work on the highways.

Second. That 20 cents an hour shall be paid for removing snow.

Third. We defeated a measure to abolish the road commissioners and place the same in the hands of the selectmen, thereby concentrating power.

All the comrades seem to be enthusiastic for the cause and from now on we will keep things alive for Socialism and expect to make even a better showing in the fall election.

The votes of the town were 974, 17 of whom were women who have a right to vote for the school committee, leaving the total male vote 957 of which the following tabulated form will show how it was distributed.

[CONCLUDED ON EIGHTH PAGE.]

We will send THE HERALD and Appeal to Reason to subscribers one year for 70 cents.

The 35th Assembly District of New York City has a new branch, which was organized on the 6th inst.

world, and the Social Democrats, as its champions, will naturally be elected. But, as it is only the "next government of mayor and aldermen" that may go ahead and do anything, the Social Democrats will naturally have to be elected the third year in order to finish the job. No matter how it goes, we are bound to win!

MARGARET HALE.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA.

CONSTITUTION OF LOCAL BRANCHES.

NAME AND LOCATION.

Section 1. This organization, located at _____, County of _____, shall be known as Local Branch No. _____ of _____ of the Social Democratic Party of America and shall hold a charter duly issued by the National Council, which may be suspended or reclaimed by the National Executive Board in case of violation of the laws, principles or regulations of the organization.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 2. Any reputable person subscribing to the principles of this organization shall be eligible to membership.

Sec. 3. A local branch shall consist of not less than five, nor more than five hundred members, _____ members constituting a quorum.

Sec. 4. A person desiring membership shall make application to a local branch, recommended by a member of said branch, and if accepted by a majority vote shall be enrolled as a member.

Sec. 5. A member may be transferred from one local branch to another by obtaining from the secretary a transfer card and depositing the same with the secretary of the branch desired to be joined.

Sec. 6. A member in good standing may terminate his or her membership by obtaining from the secretary a card of withdrawal.

Sec. 7. Each member shall be entitled to a card of membership, such card to be furnished by the National Council and issued to members by the secretary of the local branch.

DUES AND FEES.

Sec. 8. The admission fee, which shall accompany each application for membership, shall be such an amount as may be determined by the local branch, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents to be forwarded to the National Council.

Sec. 9. At the close of each meeting the treasurer shall transmit to the National Council the names of all members admitted at said meeting, their postoffice addresses and a remittance by postal money order of their admission fee.

Sec. 10. The dues of a member shall be payable quarterly in advance, on or before the first day of January, April, July and October, in such an amount as the local branch may determine, provided it shall be sufficient to include 25 cents per quarter to be forwarded to the National Council. A member admitted on or before the middle of the quarter shall pay dues for the full quarter; a member admitted after the middle of the quarter shall be exempt for said quarter.

Sec. 11. On or before the 5th day of each quarter the treasurer shall remit by postal money order the quarterly dues for the current quarter to the National Council and each local branch shall remit the full amount due for the entire membership of the branch.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Sec. 12. The Executive Board shall consist of five members, elected annually in March, and shall have general supervision of the local branch. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures, subject to the local branch, as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

Sec. 13. The officers of the board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and organizer, and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices and as the local branch may direct. The board shall hold stated meetings in March of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 14. Any member of the board may be removed by a majority vote of the local branch, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. Vacancies in the board shall be filled by the local branch.

Sec. 15. No member of the board shall hold political office except under the Social Democratic Party.

Sec. 16. The local branch shall hold meetings at such times as the members may determine.

Sec. 17. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March, the officers shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices for the preceding year.

JURISDICTION.

Sec. 18. Local branches shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the State Union and National Council, and the State Union shall be subject to the jurisdiction of the National Council.

ELECTIONS.

Sec. 19. At each annual meeting of the local branch in March an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the State Union shall be elected, who shall serve for one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

BY-LAWS.

Sec. 20. A local branch may adopt such laws as a majority may determine, provided they do not conflict with the constitution of the State Union, the constitution of the National Council, or the declaration of principles.

TRIALS.

Sec. 21. Any member violating the laws or principles of the organization may be suspended or expelled by a two-thirds vote of a local branch, provided that any charges against a member shall be preferred in writing by a member in good standing and the accused shall be entitled to a fair trial.

APPEALS.

Sec. 22. Any member having been suspended or expelled may appeal to the Executive Board of the state, and if the decision of that body is not satisfactory he may appeal to the Executive Board of the National Council.

AMENDMENTS.

Sec. 23. The constitution of Local Branches, State Unions and the National Council is the organic law of the organization and can be altered or amended only by the National Council in meeting assembled or by the general organization through the Initiative and Referendum.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Sec. 24. Upon application of five per cent. of the membership any matter relating to the amendment of the constitution, the calling of a special meeting of a State Union or the National Council, or the removal of an officer, state or national, shall be submitted to a direct vote of the membership, through the Initiative and Referendum, and a majority vote shall determine the result.

Can You Help?

PORT ANGELES, WASH., DEC. 7, 1898.
At a meeting held by the Socialists of this city, one of the sisters offered the following:

"Resolved, That as we wish to socialize the State of Washington, and as our worthy brother, E. E. Vail, has been sacrificing himself for the past three years to keep his little Socialist Daily News going without a press, (except a proof press), that we appeal to the Socialists throughout the United States to contribute something to get him a press, if it was only five cents each, as with a press we could do an immense amount of good here in the State."

The resolution was adopted unanimously and a fund was started by each member contributing his or her mite.

We request all papers favorable to Socialism to give this appeal space, and furthermore we will send copies of the paper to all those sending their mite.

Send all remittances to our county central committee secretary, Herman Culver, DAVID O'BRIEN, Chairman Co. Cen. Com.

HERMAN CULVER, Secretary, Port Angeles, Clallam Co., Wash.

SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

In his work on the "Development of Socialism from Utopia to Science," Frederick Engels sums up the course of the class struggle, its several successive stages and the significance of each in the development of production in the following clear manner:

I. MEDIEVAL SOCIETY.—Small individual production. Means of production adapted to individual use; thence primitively inefficient and paltry, and dwarfish in their results. Production for the immediate consumption, either of the producer himself or of his feudal lord. Only there, where an excess of production over consumption takes place, is that excess offered for sale and falls into exchange. The production of "commodity" is in its incipiency; but already it contains in embryo THE ANARCHY OF PRODUCTION IN SOCIETY AT LARGE.

II. CAPITALIST REVOLUTION.—Transformation of industry, first through simple co-operation and manufacture. Concentration of the hitherto scattered means of production in large workshops, and thereby, their transformation from individual into social means of production—a transformation that, on the whole does not affect the form of exchange. The old forms of appropriation remain in force. The CAPITALIST makes his appearance.

In his capacity of owner of the means of production, he appropriates the products also, and turns them into "commodities." Production has become a social act. Exchange, and, together with it, appropriation remain individual acts, acts of the individual. THE SOCIAL PRODUCTS ARE APPROPRIATED BY THE INDIVIDUAL CAPITALIST. This is the fundamental contradiction from which arise all the contradictions in which present society moves and which production in gross brings to light:

A.—Severance of the producers from the means of production. Condemnation of the worker to life-long wage-labor. CONTRAST BETWEEN PROLETARIAT AND CAPITALIST CLASS.

B.—Growing predominance and increasing effectiveness of the laws that govern the production of commodities. Unbridled competitive struggle. Contradiction between social organization in the separate factories, and social anarchy in production at large.

C.—On the one hand, perfection of machinery made by competition compulsory upon every individual manufacturer, and equivalent with ever increasing displacement of labor—the industrial RESERVE ARMY. On the other hand, boundless expansion and production, equally a compulsory law of competition to every manufacturer. On both hands unheard of development of productive forces, excess of supply over demand, overproduction, glutting of the markets, decennial crises, the vicious circle: here, a superabundance of products and means of production; yonder, a superabundance of workingmen without employment and without means of existence. But these two forces of production and social well-being cannot combine because the capitalist form of production prevents the productive powers from operating and the products from circulating unless they first convert themselves into capital—a thing that their very superabundance prevents from being done. The contradiction has become an absurdity; THE MODE OF PRODUCTION REBELS AGAINST THE FORM OF EXCHANGE. The capitalist class is convicted of incapacity further to direct its own social powers of production.

D.—Partial recognition of the social character of the powers of production forced upon the capitalists themselves. Appropriation of the large organism of production and communication and transportation, first by STOCK COMPANIES, next by the STATE. The capitalist class shows itself to be superfluous; all its social functions are performed by hired employees.

III. PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION.—Solution of the contradictions. The proletariat seizes the public power, and, with its aid, turns the power of production, that have been slipping from the hands of the capitalist class, into public property. By this act it frees the means of production from their previous capitalist quality, and gives their social character full freedom to assert itself. Thenceforth, social production upon a pre-determined plan becomes possible. The development of production makes the continuance of several social classes an anachronism. In proportion as anarchy in the production of society disappears, the political authority of the state becomes dormant. Man, finally master of his own form of social organization, becomes at the same time lord over nature—lord over himself—in short, free. To accomplish this work of universal emancipation is the historic mission of the modern proletariat. To investigate its historic conditions, thereby its nature itself, and thus to impart a consciousness of its own motion to that class that, oppressed to-day, is called upon to do the act—that is the task of the theoretic expression of the movement of the proletariat, i. e. of scientific Socialism.

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THE SOCIALIST VOTE.

The Political Strength of Socialism from 1867 to 1898.

Many persons whose sympathies are with the cause of Socialism are heard to say that while they believe in it, it will never win. This is said without a knowledge of its growing power in the world. Below will be found the Socialist vote in those countries where the people have the elective franchise. A study of these figures should put faith and courage into all who believe in Socialism but say "it can not win." The fact is that it is winning, its development is truly remarkable. Outside the countries named the movement is growing in like proportions.

	AUSTRIA.
1895	90,000
1897	750,000
	BELGIUM.
1894	334,500
1898	534,324
	DENMARK.
1872	315
1884	6,805
1887	8,408
1890	17,232
1892	20,098
1895	25,019
1898	32,000
	FRANCE.
1885	30,000
1888	91,600
1893	590,000
1898	1,000,000
	GERMANY.
1867	30,000
1871	101,927
1874	351,670
1877	486,843
1878	437,158
1881	311,961
1884	599,990
1887	763,128
1890	1,427,298
1893	1,786,738
1898	2,125,000
	GREAT BRITAIN.
1895	55,000
	ITALY.
1893	26,000
1895	76,400
1897	134,496
	SERVIA.
1895	50,000
	SPAIN.
1893	7,000
1895	14,800
1897	28,000
	SWITZERLAND.
1890	13,500
1893	29,822
1896	36,468
	UNITED STATES.
1890	13,704
1891	16,552
1892	21,512
1893	25,666
1894	30,020
1895	34,869
1896	36,275
1897	55,550
1898	91,749
	TOTAL ESTIMATED STRENGTH.
1898	5,000,000

LABOR

PUBLISHED EVERY SATURDAY

BY THE

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(MISSOURI ORGAN.)

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Social Democratic Party of America.

Constitution of National Council.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located at such place as the Executive Board may decide upon.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Section 2. The Social Democratic Party of America shall be organized as follows:

1st. Local branches limited to 500 members each.

2d. State Unions before state convention of 1900 shall be composed of one representative from each local branch; provided that branches having more than twenty-five members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional twenty-five members or major part thereof, after which each state shall provide its own method of organization.

3d. A National Council composed of one representative from each state and territory; provided that states having more than 500 members shall be entitled to a representative for each additional 500 members or major part thereof.

4th. An Executive Board of five members.

EXECUTIVE BOARD.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall be elected quadrennially by the National Council; having general supervision of the organization and be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with the constitution and declaration of principles.

Section 4. A National Secretary, Treasurer and Editor of the national organ (and such other officers as may be required) shall be elected every four years, and their salaries fixed by the Executive Committee to be approved by the direct vote of the members through the referendum.

Section 5. Members of the Executive Board shall receive no compensation for their services. They shall hold stated meetings on the second Tuesday in May of each year, and such special meetings as may be required.

Section 6. A majority of the board shall constitute a quorum.

Section 7. Any member of the board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members of the organization as hereinafter provided.

Section 8. Any member of the board, or national officer may be removed at any time by the National Council as hereinafter provided.

Section 9. No member shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Section 10. All questions not provided for in this constitution and all questions of appeal shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the board.

Section 11. At each annual meeting the officers of the board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES AND FUNDS.

Section 12. The revenue of the organization shall be derived from an admission fee of twenty-five (25) cents and dues of twenty-five cents, payable quarterly in advance for each member.

Section 13. The funds of the organization shall be deposited in such bank or banks as the board may direct and the National Secretary and Treasurer shall be required to execute a bond for the faithful performance of his duties in such an amount as the board may require.

THE NATIONAL COUNCIL.

Section 14. The National Council shall meet annually on the first Tuesday in May at such place as the Executive Board may determine, subject to change by referendum vote. The chairman of the Executive Board shall preside over its deliberations.

Section 15. The National Council shall constitute the legislative body of the organization and shall be empowered to enact all general legislation, subject to referendum hereinafter provided. It shall determine the policy, and do all other things required to carry out the general objects of the organization.

OFFICIAL PAPER.

Section 16. This organization shall publish an official paper, under the supervision of the Executive Board, which shall be known as the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD. Each member of the organization shall be entitled to a copy of the official paper in consideration of the payment of quarterly dues.

Section 17. The columns of the official organ shall be open at all times to reasonable criticism and discussion of party matters by members of the party.

Section 18. The national conventions of the organization shall be held quadrennially on the first Tuesday in May, at such place as may be determined by the National Council.

REFERENDUM.

Section 19. The members of the Executive Board may be removed by the imperative mandate in the following manner: Any three members of the National Council may demand the resignation of any member of the National Executive Board, by filing a petition with the secretary of said Executive Committee; and upon said secretary's neglect or refusal to act upon said petition within five days after filing the same, then by filing a petition with the chairman of the said Executive Board; and upon the said chairman's neglect or refusal to act, by filing such petition with three members of the National Council, other than the petitioners, who shall act as a committee for the purpose of receiving and acting as herein provided. Such petition shall contain a statement in writing setting forth fully and at large the grounds upon which the recall is demanded. Such officers or committee with whom such petition is filed shall forthwith deliver a copy thereof to the person whose recall is demanded, if such person can be found; and said person shall have the right to answer such petition in writing, which said answer shall be mailed by registered letter to the officer or committee holding said petition within fifteen (15) days from the receipt by the person whose recall is desired of the copy of the petition required to be delivered to him.

The petitioners shall be served forthwith by registered letter from the officer or committee holding the petition with a copy of said answer, and such petitioners shall have the right to file, with such officer or committee, a replication to such answer within ten (10) days after receipt of such copy.

Thereupon the said officer or committee holding said petition shall mail a complete copy of the proceedings to the person whose recall is sought, and five (5) days thereafter said officer or committee shall mail to each member of the National Council a complete copy of all the proceedings and shall demand a vote of each member of the National Council thereon.

All proceedings shall be open to the inspection of any member of the National Council at all times.

The time for filing the answer and replication may be extended by the officer or chairman of the committee holding such petition for ten (10) days; and such answer may be amended at any time to meet the allegation of the replication.

Recall of a member of the Executive Committee shall not affect the standing of such member as a member of the National Council.

RECALL OF OFFICERS.

Section 20. The selection of the National Secretary and Editor shall be announced for approval or rejection in the official organ, the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD, within fifteen days from the selection of said officers, and each member

shall have a vote thereon to be sent by the secretary of his local branch to the chairman of the Executive Board, the vote to be announced in the official paper and the polls shall close 20 days after the date calling for the referendum.

Section 21. The National Secretary-Treasurer or the Editor may be removed or discharged by the National Council or the Executive Board, but if the said national officers shall be so removed or discharged, they may appeal the case to the members of the organization by stating the grounds of protest, serving a copy on the chairman and secretary of the National Council and the Executive Board, the same not to occupy more than two columns of the official paper, an equal space to be given the Council or Executive to state their side of the controversy; the votes shall be mailed to any member of the Council or Executive Board the petitioner may designate; the petitioner shall be entitled to representation at the count of ballots, and the polls shall close 20 days after the date of the publication of the referendum.

Section 22. The question shall be: "Shall the action of the Executive Board (or the National Council as the case may be) be sustained?" and if the vote of the members does not confirm the action, the petitioner shall then be reinstated.

Section 23. The National Executive Board (or any member of it), the National Secretary-Treasurer, or the Editor may be removed by the members of the organization in the following manner: A petition endorsed by five per cent. of the members shall be filed with the chairman of the Executive Board, who shall cause the same to be submitted to a referendum vote within 10 days; should said chairman fail to do this, then any five branches, by official action at a regular meeting, shall have power to call for said vote and the same, after due hearing of both sides as provided in section 21, shall be taken.

CONSTITUTION OF STATE UNIONS.

NAME AND HEADQUARTERS.

Section 1. This organization shall be known as the _____ State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America, and its headquarters shall be located as the union may determine.

HOW ORGANIZED.

Section 2. The _____ State Union of the Social Democratic Party of America shall consist of delegates representing local branches in this state, and shall constitute the legislative body of the state.

Section 3. The Executive Board shall consist of five members and shall have general supervision of the State Union. It shall be empowered to provide such rules, issue such orders and adopt such measures as may be required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action shall be taken which conflicts with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

Section 4. The officers of the Board shall consist of a chairman, vice-chairman, secretary, treasurer and such others as may be determined, who shall be elected at each annual meeting of the Board and serve until their successors are elected and qualified. They shall perform such duties as appertain to their several offices, and for their services shall receive such compensation as the State Union may determine. The Board shall hold stated meetings in April of each year and such special meetings as may be required.

Section 5. A majority of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

Section 6. Any member of the Board may be removed by a majority vote of all the members, provided that all charges shall be reduced to writing and that the accused member shall be entitled to a fair trial. The Board shall be authorized to fill all vacancies.

Section 7. Any member of the Board may be removed at any time by the State Union.

Section 8. No member of the Board shall hold political office, except under the Social Democratic Party.

Section 9. All questions not provided for in the constitution, and all questions of appeal from local branches, shall be decided by the chairman, such decisions to be final and in full effect unless otherwise ordered by the Board.

Section 10. At each annual meeting the officers of the Board shall submit complete reports of the transactions of their several offices and transmit a copy to each local branch.

REVENUES.

Section 11. The revenues of the organization shall be derived from such sources as the State Union may determine.

THE STATE UNION.

Section 12. The State Union shall meet annually at such place as its members may determine, in April. The chairman of the Executive

Board shall preside over its deliberations. The secretary of the Executive Board shall serve as secretary of the State Union and keep a correct record of its proceedings, submitting a copy of the same to each local branch in the state.

Section 13. At each annual meeting of the State Union an Executive Board of five members and representatives to the National Council shall be elected, who shall serve one year, or until their successors are elected and qualified.

Section 14. The State Union shall enact such laws as may be necessary, determine the policy of the state organizations and do all other things required to carry out the objects of the organization, provided that no action is taken inconsistent with this constitution, the constitution of the National Council or the declaration of principles.

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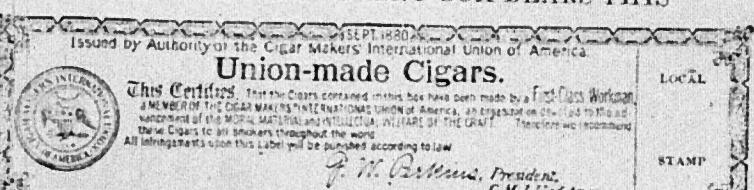
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INTERNATIONAL.

BERLIN, GERMANY.

Within two weeks the Social Democratic workmen of Germany have collected about 40,000 marks (\$10,000) for the families of the poor union carpenters that were sentenced in Saxony to long imprisonment for taking part in a strike riot. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in Dresden, the organ of the Social Democratic organ, says: "The capitalist press believed the poor families of our imprisoned brothers would fall into misery and suffering; they are badly mistaken. The working class will not allow the poor women and children to suffer while their husbands and fathers are behind prison walls by order of the heroes of class justice."

AMSTERDAM, HOLLAND.

The specifications of the contract for the Post Office Savings Bank now being erected at Amsterdam provide for the payment of a minimum rate of wages, 4½ d. per hour for artisans and 3½ d. per hour for laborers; and the hours of labor are not to exceed eleven per day. This is the first instance of any such provisions being introduced into a government contract. The Social Weekblad states that the municipalities of Middelburg, Nijmegen, and Amersfoort have inserted wage clauses in recent contracts.

ST. PETERSBURG, RUSSIA.

The trust is growing in the Muscovite Empire. The Austrian Consul-General reports that the sugar syndicate was founded at Kien in 1887, and re-established in 1895. The trust is composed of 210 of the 217 sugar factories established in Russia, and its principal object is the regulation of the production of sugar so as to keep up prices, which fell in consequence of over-production in 1895.

ZURICH, SWITZERLAND.

The movement in favor of uniting all trades organizations and Socialist factions in Switzerland into one powerful Social Democratic party on the one hand and into a strong trades union federation on the other hand, is making splendid progress. A general Socialist congress will soon be held to arrange the preliminaries for the great work of Socialist consolidation.

MADRID, SPAIN.

The Spanish workers are now feeling the full effects of the recent war with the United States. In the southern provinces the number of unemployed is enormous. At Madrid it is reported there are over 20,000 without work. The Spanish journals state that acts of pillage are daily committed on shops which retail any kind of foodstuffs.

LONDON, ENGLAND.

A magnificent demonstration in favor of International peace was held in St. James hall, March 8. Comrade Hyndman presided. Speeches were made by Liebknecht of Germany, Vandervelde of Belgium, Jaurès of France, Keir Hardie, Quelch and others.

STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN.

Comrade August Palm, the man who held the first Socialist meeting in Sweden, celebrated his 50th birthday and the Social Democratic Party celebrated the day with its old brave comrades. He received many telegrams and letters of congratulation and a number of presents.

MAYENCE, GERMANY.

The City Council of this city decided to grant a pension to all the workmen that are in the employ of the city at least ten years. The pension will be at least 20 per cent of the wages received by the men and may be increased to 40 per cent.

NUREMBERG, GERMANY.

The City Council of this city decided to have a number of small residences built which shall be rented out at a reasonable price to workingmen. These houses will be provided with the best sanitary improvements.

STRASBURG, GERMANY.

Socialism is making splendid progress among the rural population of Alsace-Lorraine. The clericals are doing all in their power to check the onward march of Social Democracy, but without success.

DRESDEN, GERMANY.

The paper hangers in this city have decided to demand the nine hours workday and to inaugurate a strike in case their demand should not be granted.

BUCHAREST, ROUMANIA.

A great number of Socialists were expelled from the Roumanian territory. This, however, will by no means check the Socialist movement in this country.

BUDAPEST, HUNGARY.

The Social Democratic Party of this country will hold its annual congress April 2nd and 3d. The Socialist farm laborers will hold their convention April 4th and 5th.

COPENHAGEN, DENMARK.

The strike of the women tailors in this city has been settled in favor of the strikers. Over 1000 women were interested in the strike.

BIEL, SWITZERLAND.

Comrade Reimann has just been elected as the first Social Democrat to enter the municipal council of this city.

Whitman Election.

[CONTINUED FROM FIFTH PAGE.]

TOWN CLERK.

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The above were the only offices for which we had candidates in the field, and as we cast but 34 votes for Winfield P. Porter for governor last November and an average of 255 at the town election, it can readily be seen that we have made a tremendous gain, in fact we had nearly one-third of the whole vote.

Our much advertised Comrade John C. Chase, mayor of Haverhill, was

with us Saturday evening and spoke to a crowded house and made a great impression on his audience which was very generous with applause. After the close he answered a number of questions to the satisfaction of all. He is a very easy and fluent speaker and the comrades were so much pleased with him that we have him booked for another engagement shortly. He was favorably impressed with the sentiment here. Hurrah for Amesbury!

DUFFE.

Whitman, Mass.

65 SOCIALISTS and reformers—Biographical sketches of German, English and American leaders—Marx, Engels, Liebknecht, Bebel, Ruskine, Morris, Hyndman, Blatchford, Belamy, Gronlund, Casson, Wayland, Stetson, Sprague, Vail, Debs, Carey, Edwards, Gordon, Berger and others, with 43 Photo Engravings. A souvenir handbook, 50 pages, 8x11. While they last will mail at 50 cents per copy if you mention the SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC HERALD.

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THE ROSTRUM.

[CONCLUDED FROM PAGE ONE.]

that city was crowded with trade unionists, according to these same newspapers and they cheered him as "Our own Eugene." What is true of Indianapolis is true of all other cities where he speaks. There is not only personal favor but a deeper and more interesting significance in these receptions of a man who a few years ago was denounced as an anarchist for saying what he is still saying to the people. Since then preachers and others everywhere who are supposed to represent the moral and conservative have begun to talk in this same strain."

The trades unionists are coming to the Social Democratic Party. Their more progressive members are Socialists, and it will not be long till the trades union movement is permeated with Socialism and then the trades union movement and the Social Democratic party will move forward on parallel lines, the former fighting industrial battles and the latter routing the enemy on the political field until the last vestige of capitalism disappears and a Socialist commonwealth is established. And this must be accomplished in our own time. Forward, march!

Will Wish They Had Placated the Monkey.

A wise man named DeLaveleye made this remark some time since:

"To issue from primitive simplicity and suddenly to grow enormously rich threatens immorality and ruin. This we now witness in the United States."

DeLaveleye ought to come and take another look nowadays. "A hundred millions" here, "a hundred millions" there; stupid extravagance and ostentation on this side, poverty—intelligent poverty—and discontent on that side.

Men who cannot get rid of the vast sums which they have not earned. Men just as good, with the same brains and the same rights, who cannot get work or a decent living, no matter how humbly they beg or how patiently they wait.

A man is a dangerous animal when he really makes up his mind that he has not a fair chance. A discontented feeling is growing in this country. Something will have to be done, or someone will get hurt, and that someone ought really to begin to think the situation over now.

The Debs outbreak in Chicago was a warning symptom. A few such symptoms, and a convenient Grover Cleveland to order out all the soldiers as requested will not fill the bill.

We believe that the necessary something will be done by the good and intelligent men who think of others and of justice even when their own stomachs are filled. We believe that the real democrats of America will meet the emergency when it comes. But we think that all indications point to sleepless nights in the future for men whose happiness is tied up in bonds and mortgages.

Let the majority—the slow, blind, optimistic, dull majority—once know that without some radical change their case is hopeless—then, dear bond owners, you will know how the parrot felt as his last tail feather came out, and you will wish with him, that he had placated the monkey before he lost his temper for good.

You think there is no danger here? Ask George M. Pullman's agents what he thought when he had the Debs row on hand. Ask the Chicago underwriters at what rate they would have insured the town of Pullman or any Pullman property at about that time.

There is in this country enough for ALL. You prosperous ones must manage somehow to let the majority at least have a fair chance—and a big majority at that. If you don't you will hear of something to your disadvantage.—N. Y. Journal.

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